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MR. FILLMORE'S POLITICAL HISTORY AND POSITION.

SPEECH OF

HON. E. B. MORGAN, OF NEW YORK.

IN U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST 4, 1856.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, Mr. MORGAN said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I propose to ask the attention of the House and of the country, to the probable consequences of the success of one of the candidates for the Presidency, who is a citizen of my own State, Hon. Millard Fillmore.

To exhibit them fully, it will be necessary to examine his antecedents, his personal relations to men and parties, the platform upon which he has consented to stand, the influences which prevailed in his nomination, the views and objects of those who support him, and the principles which must control him, if he is elected.

My sole object in referring to his personal antecedents and relations, is to throw light upon his probable line of policy, should he be elevated to the Presidential chair. I enter upon that branch of the discussion with sincere reluctance, and only because it is essential to a full elucidation of the subject.

MR. FILLMORE'S POLITICAL HISTORY.

In 1829, Mr. Fillmore made his first entrance into public life, having been in that year elected to the New York Assembly, as an Anti-Mason.—He was, once or twice, re-elected to the New York Assembly as an Anti-Mason, and in 1832 was elected as such a member of this House. In the same year, he voted for Mr. Wirt, the Anti-Masonic candidate for the Presidency.

He was afterwards a member of this House for a period of six years, commencing March 4, 1837, during which time he was attached to the Whig party. During this, his second period of service in Congress, the slavery agitation arose and was continued in the country, and the records, often quoted, and to which I shall now only briefly refer, show that Mr. Fillmore voted with persistent firmness on the side of freedom, and in company with such men as John Q. Adams, Joshua R. Giddings and Mr. Slade of Vermont.

On the 21st day of December, 1837, Mr. Patton of Virginia, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves, in any State, District, or Territory of the United States, be laid on the table, without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.

The resolution was adopted, yeas 122, nays 74, Mr. Fillmore voting in the negative.

On the 11th of December, 1838, Mr. Atherton offered his celebrated resolutions in reference to abolition petitions, known in the politics of that time as "*Atherton's Gag.*" Mr. Fillmore voted against their introduction and against their adoption.

On the 13th of December of the same year Mr. Wise, of Virginia, offered a series of resolutions declaring against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the abolition of the inter-State slave trade, and the reception of abolition petitions, affirming that the laws of Congress alone govern in the prescription of the mode of recovery of fugitive slaves; that Congress has no power to impose the abolition of slavery upon a State as a condition of its admission into the Union; that the citizens of a slave State have a right to take their slaves through a free State, that the general government is constitutionally bound to protect them in such right; that the laws of the non-slaveholding States in conflict with such right were null and void. The motion to suspend the rules for the introduction of these resolutions was lost; Mr. Fillmore voting adverse to the motion to suspend the rules, and against the South, and in company with Adams and Giddings.

On the same day Mr. Slade, of Vermont, moved resolutions against the slave trade between the District of Columbia and the States; against the same trade between the States, and in favor of receiving, debating, printing, and referring abolition petitions. On the motion to suspend the rules for the purpose of introducing these resolutions, which was lost; Mr. Fillmore again voted against the South in favor of suspending the

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rules, and in company with Adams and Giddings. On the 31st of December, 1839, Mr. Coles moved to suspend the rules for the purpose of moving a resolution against the reception of abolition petitions; which motion was lost; Mr. Fillmore voting against a suspension of the rules, and in company with Adams and Giddings.

On the 28th of January, 1840, the famous 21st rule was adopted, which precluded the reception or entertainment in any way of an abolition petition. On adopting this rule Mr. Fillmore again voted against the South, in the negative.

On the 9th of December, 1840, Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, moved a repeal of this last rule.—Mr. Jenifer, of Maryland, moved to lay the motion on the table; which was carried; Mr. Fillmore voting in the negative, against the South.

On the 21st of January, 1841, Mr. Adams presented an abolition petition. Mr. Connor moved to lay a part of it, not embraced within the effect of the 21st rule, on the table. On the votes taken in reference to this petition, Mr. Fillmore's name is found with those of Adams and Giddings, and against the South.

On the 21st of January, 1842, Mr. Adams presented an abolition petition, praying the naturalization of free-negro foreigners, and that they be allowed to hold real-estate. Mr. Wise moved to lay its reception on the table; which motion was carried. Mr. Fillmore again voted against the South, in the negative.

On the 12th of December, 1842, Mr. Adams called up his motion to rescind the 21st rule. Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, moved to lay it on the table; which motion was carried; Mr. Fillmore again voting against the South, in the negative.

On the 3d of January, 1843, Mr. Morgan moved a resolution instructing the Committee on Territories to bring in a bill repealing a certain act of the territorial legislature of Florida, preventing the immigration of free negroes into that Territory. Mr. Black moved to lay the resolution on the table; which was carried; Mr. Fillmore again voting against the South, in the negative.

These notes, covering every year of his Congressional service after the slavery agitation commenced, and with which all his votes harmonize, show plainly enough where Mr. Fillmore stood at that time.

In 1838, he wrote the following letter:

BUFFALO, Oct. 17, 1838.

SIR: Your communication of the 15th inst., as chairman of a committee appointed by the "Anti-Slavery Society of the County of Erie," has just come to hand. You solicit my answers to the following interrogatories:

First. Do you believe that petitions to Congress on the subject of slavery or on the slave trade ought to be received, read, and respectfully considered by the Representatives of the people.

Second. Are you opposed to the annexation of Texas to the Union, under any circumstances, so long as slaves are held therein?

Third. Are you in favor of Congress exerting all the constitutional power it possess to abolish the internal slave trade between the States?

Fourth. Are you in favor of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

I am much engaged, and have no time to enter into an argument, or to explain at length my reasons for my opinion. I shall therefore content myself for the present by answering all your interrogatories in the affirmative, and leave for some future occasion a more extended discussion of the subject.

I am, respectfully, your ob't servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

W. Mills, Esq., Chairman.

In 1847, as a candidate for the Comptrollership, he was the head of the New York State Whig ticket, which was run upon a platform, which proclaims "since the crisis has arrived when the question must be met, uncompromising hostility to the extension of slavery into any territory now free, or which may hereafter be acquired by any action of the government of our Union."

In 1848, we find him instigating Hon. N. K. Hall, his law partner and special political friend, afterwards his Postmaster General, to move a resolution here, which has more practical abolitionism in it than any proposition ever agitated in Congress. The resolution I am about to read, was prepared by Mr. Hall in concert with Mr. Fillmore, and was fully approved by Mr. Fillmore.

[Congressional Globe, Vol. 18, p. 390.]

On the 28th of February, 1848, Hon. N. K. Hall of New York, offered the following resolution in the House:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and they are hereby, directed to report to this House, with all convenient speed, a bill repealing all laws of Congress, and abrogating, so far as they are operative or in force in the District of Columbia, all laws of the State of Maryland which authorize or require the courts, officers, or magistrates of the United States, or of the said District, within the District of Columbia, to issue process for arrest, or commit to the jail of the said District any runaways or other slave or fugitive from service, or colored person claimed as such, except on due complaint and proof of, or on a conviction for, some crime or misdemeanor, the commission of which by any free white person would authorize in the same manner the arrest, commitment, and detention of such white person in like manner charged with or convicted thereof."

This resolution is preceded by an elaborate preamble, in which, among other things, it is declared that the use of the jails in the District of Columbia for the detention of fugitive slaves, is "*repugnant to the feelings of a large majority of the people of the United States.*"

In 1848, Mr. Fillmore was nominated and elected Vice-President on the same ticket with Gen. Taylor. The suggestion that he might receive this nomination, was a matter of consideration and discussion for some time before it was made, by Mr. Fillmore and his friends. As a question of personal interest, Mr. Fillmore hesitated and wavered in deciding whether to solicit this nomination, or to reserve himself as a candidate for the United States Senatorship. On one point, his mind was made up from first to last. He would not accept the Vice-Presidential nomination, if Mr. Clay was designated for the Presidency. He had early adopted the opinion that Mr. Clay was unpopular and unavailable. So thinking, he got up and managed a caucus of the New York members of Congress in 1839, at which a letter was

agreed upon and signed, Mr. Mitchell only dissenting, advising the New York delegation in the Harrisburgh Convention, to bring out Gen. Harrison, and not Mr. Clay, for the campaign of 1840. He retained the same opinion of Mr. Clay's unavailability in 1848, which was increased by his apprehensions that Mr. Clay's declarations in the meantime in reference to the slavery question, would make him fatally obnoxious to the free sentiment of the North. Mr. Fillmore doubted whether it would be possible to support even Gen. Taylor at the North, in consequence of the prevalence and warmth of these sentiments. His final conclusion, communicated at the last moment to his friends leaving for the Philadelphia Convention, was, absolutely to refuse the use of his name if Mr. Clay was nominated for the Presidency, and that he did not desire his name to be used, if the nomination fell upon General Taylor.

In fact, he was nominated upon the ticket with General Taylor, and it is only necessary to observe that this was so done, for the sole purpose of conciliating anti-slavery support to the ticket. Mr. Fillmore was known throughout the country, as a decided anti-slavery man, and it was hoped and believed that his name would reconcile Northern voters to the support of General Taylor, and so the event proved.

The original draft of Mr. Fillmore's letter, accepting the nomination for the Vice-Presidency, was submitted to his friends, and under their advice, was not published, until certain extreme anti-slavery sentiments were stricken out, which, in their judgment, would have been fatal to the Whig party at the South.

After his elevation to the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Fillmore took a new departure in politics, and I propose to point out some of the circumstances which preceded and attended it.

In the year 1839, Mr. Seward being Governor of New York, a bill was passed by the Legislature of that State, creating the office of Vice-Chancellor for Western New York. This office was given by Gov. Seward to Frederick Whittelsey of Rochester, the bill creating it having passed the Legislature with the general understanding that that appointment would be made under it. Before the final completion of these proceedings, Mr. Fillmore, then at Washington, wrote a letter to a distinguished gentleman at Albany, expressing his own wish for this appointment, if it could be given to him consistently with the arrangements of the Whig party. In reply, Mr. Weed apprised him of the circumstances attending the creation of the office. Mr. Fillmore, however, never forgave Gov. Seward for his failure to gratify him in this matter.

In reference to some of the appointments made by General Taylor for the State of New York, opposing recommendations were made by Gov. Seward and Mr. Fillmore. The latter gentleman complained, although really without cause, that he did not have that weight with General Taylor to which he was entitled. In the end, a coolness grew up between Gen. Taylor and Mr. Fillmore, which carried Mr. Fillmore by insensible degrees into the camp of their common enemies. Becoming more and more estranged from General Taylor, he joined himself to the opposition raised by the South and by the democratic party to General Taylor's territorial policy, and at length became a prominent and conspicuous member of the coterie of Union savers. Nor did he fail to take an early advantage of his new political connections, to gratify the views in respect to the distribution of offiee, disappointment in which was the sole cause of his opposition to the soldier and patriot then administering the government.

In a speech delivered in California in the fall of 1854, Mr. Foote of Mississippi lets us into some of these secret movements. After recapitulating the points of one of his speeches in the United States Senate, in which he had denounced the free-soil movements and nominations to office of General Taylor, Mr. Foote says:—

"I had not long taken my seat before Mr. Badger of North Carolina, one of the purest and most patriotic men that ever occupied a place in the national council, came to me and stated that Vice-President Fillmore, then presiding officer of the Senate, had reqnested him to make known to me that he perfectly concurred in the views which I had just expressed, and that he would be pleased to have an interview with me on the subject in the official rooms of the Capitol, at the hour of nine o'clock on the next morning. I promised to attend upon him at the time and place specified. I did so.

Without going into particulars at present, it is sufficient for me to say that I obtained by the direction of Mr. Fillmore from the hands of an accredited friend of his, a list of the nominees subject to the objection of being agitators on the question of slavery. *This whole catalogue of worthies was disposed of in the Senate*, in other words they were sacrificed to the peace of the country save one or two, whose nominations remained to be acted upon on the last night of the session of Congress. They were disposed of by *Mr. Fillmore himself*, on the same night; for just before the clock struck twelve, this gentleman, being then President, *sent in a special message, withdrawing all the offensive nominations*, and substituting others in their stead."

From this period, Mr. Fillmore was against his old friends and his old principles. As President he acted with the South and with the Democrats. Whig members of Congress had no access to him, and no influence with him. It was at the end of his administration that honest John Davis of Massachusetts, with bowed head and desponding heart, made the memorable declaration that "*slavery rules everything.*" A distinguished member of this House from Maine, Mr. Washburn, has informed the public that Mr. Davis said to him, that he felt himself as much a stranger in the White House after the accession of Mr. Fillmore, as he did during the administration of Mr. Polk. What was true of Mr. Davis, the tried and trusted leader of the Whigs of Massachusetts, was true of all the Whigs of the North who held fast to old principles. Mr. Fillmore received his reward in the unanimous support of the South in the Whig Convention of 1852. But between himself and the true Whigs of the North, he had, with his own hands, erected an impassable wall of separation.

No personal disappointments could justify Mr. Fillmore in forming his new alliances against Gen. Taylor, but in truth, nothing had occurred of which he had the least right to complain. Gen. Taylor was a just, upright and sagacious man. Instead of finding Mr. Fillmore an impartial coun-

sellor, taking a broad view of things, he found him intent at all times on advancing his peculiar, personal interests. At the first interview between them in Washington, Mr. Fillmore demanded that his partner, Mr. Hall, should be appointed Governor of Minnesota, and that Mr. Foote, the editor of his paper, the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, should be appointed Minister at Constantinople. Gen. Taylor could not but see, and he did see, that Mr. Fillmore was a mere office broker for his particular friends, instead of being a reliable adviser for the general good of a common party. Again at Erie, when Gen. Taylor was lying there sick, and so sick, that, to use his own expression, he "*could not tell night from day*," Mr. Fillmore came up from Buffalo, not to minister to him, not to comfort him, but to extort a promise from him, the performance of which he afterwards exacted, that his friend, Mr. Stuart, should be appointed Architect of public buildings. Gen. Taylor noted these and similar things, and often, before his death, spoke of them with grief and indignation.

I know that there are many Whigs at the North, who still hold in good faith to the old principles of the Whig party of the North, who incline to support Mr. Fillmore. Let me warn such men, that the rancor of a renegade always surpasses the hostility of an original enemy, and that we have more to hope, (I speak now as an original Whig,) from Mr. Buchanan, than from Mr. Fillmore, who hates his old associates and his old principles, from the consciousness, which he cannot escape, that he has been false to both. Implacable enmity to all the true men of the North, and thorough devotion to the politicians of the South; these make up the personal relations, never again to be changed, of Mr. Fillmore.

THE AMERICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

The present platform of the American party, adopted in February last, and upon which Mr. Fillmore now stands, is precisely the same as the Cincinnati platform, so far as the Kansas-Nebraska policy is concerned. This is clear from its language, and equally so from its history.

The first platform of the American party, adopted in June 1855, contained the celebrated "*Twelfth section*," now expunged, and which was as follows:—

"XII. The American party, having arisen upon the ruins, and in spite of the opposition, of the Whig and Democratic parties, cannot be in any manner responsible for the obnoxious acts of violated pledges of either. And the systematic agitation of the slavery question by those parties having elevated sectional hostility into a positive element of political power, and brought our institutions into peril, it has, therefore, become the imperative duty of the American party to interpose for the purpose of giving peace to the country and perpetuity to the Union. And, as experience has shown it impossible to reconcile opinions so extreme as those which separate the disputants, and as there can be no dishonor in submitting to the laws, the national council has deemed it the best guarantee of common justice and of future peace *to abide by and maintain the existing laws upon the subject of slavery as a final and conclusive settlement of that subject, in spirit and in substance.*

"And regarding it the highest duty to avow their opinions upon a subject so important in distinct and unequivocal terms, it is hereby declared, as the sense of this national council, that Congress possesses no power under the Constitution to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the States where it does or may exist, or to exclude any State from admission into the Union because its Constitution does or does not recognise the institution of slavery as a part of its social system; and expressly pretermitting any expression of opinion upon the power of Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in any Territory, it is the sense of the National Council that Congress ought not to legislate upon the subject of slavery within the Territories of the United States, and that any interference by Congress with slavery as it exists in the District of Columbia would be a violation of the spirit and intention of the compact by which the State of Maryland ceded the District to the United States, and a breach of the National faith."

Here was no approval of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. On the contrary, the reference to "*obnoxious acts*" and "*violated pledges*," was intended, either to condemn it, or to carry the appearance of condemning it. But in respect to all present and future action, which is its only practical aspect, this section sustains the Nebraska Act as a thing settled and not to be disturbed.

This 12th section offended the great body of the Northern Americans, and at a separate Convention holden at Cincinnati in the fall of 1855, in which this Northern wing was largely represented, the following resolution was adopted:

"That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an infraction of the plighted faith of the Nation, and that it should be restored; and if efforts to that end should fail, Congress should refuse to admit into the Union any State tolerating slavery, which shall be formed out of any portion of the Territory from which that institution was excluded by that compromise."

This was the most moderate form to which the demands of the Northern Americans, could then be reduced.

In February last, the party met again in National Convention, and having set aside the platform of June 1855, adopted a new one, of which the two following are the only clauses which relate to the Nebraska controversy:

"*Seventh.* The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their Constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the right of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress."

"*Thirteenth.* Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present Administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in 'removing Americans' (by designation) and conservatives in principle from office and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado toward the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, &c., &c."

As to the past, this new platform differs from the old platform, inasmuch as it expressly con-

demns the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, whereas the the old one does so only by inference and construction, if it does so at all.

As to the present and future, the two platforms are identical, both upholding the Nebraska policy of Judge Douglass, and both repudiating Congressional control over the Territories, under pretence of giving to the citizens thereof the right to govern themselves.

Practically, it is of no moment, what individuals, or parties, think of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The important question is, what shall now be done? Shall the Douglass swindle be acquiesced in, or shall the Compromise be restored, in letter or substance? But while this is the only practical question, I must take occasion to say that I find it easier to respect those who sustain the Douglass policy as right in principle, than those who condemn it, and at the same time sustain it.

The Northern members of the February Convention, saw at once that this new platform was as complete a repudiation of their views as the old one.

A resolution was offered by one of them that "*we will nominate no candidate for President or Vice President, who is not in favor of interdicting the introduction of slavery north of* 36° 30′."

A motion was made to lay this resolution on the table, and it was carried—yeas 141, nays 59.

The resolution to proceed to a ballot having passed, the Convention was about to do so, when Mr. Perkins of Connecticut, announced the secession from the Convention of the delegates of that State, which was followed by Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio, and portions of the delegates of Illinois, Iowa, and Pennsylvania.

These seceding members put forth an address to the public, of which the following is the material portion:

"The undersigned, delegates to the Nominating Convention now in session at Philadelphia, find themselves compelled to dissent from the principles avowed by that body; and holding the opinion, as they do, that the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, demanded by a majority of the whole people, is a redress of an undeniable wrong, and the restoration of it, in spirit at least, indispensable to the repose of the country, they have regarded the refusal of that Convention to recognize the well defined opinion of the country, and of the Americans of the free States, upon this question, as a denial of their rights, and a rebuke to their sentiments."

Many Northern members having left the Convention upon these grounds, Mr. Fillmore obtained the nomination, receiving the Southern votes, with the exception of a few given to Garret Davis, of Ky., and Gen. Houston. 14 of the 15 delegates from Virginia voted for Mr. Fillmore, and so did unanmiously the delegations from Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, Missouri, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Mississippi. And thus the South obtained the platform it wanted, and the man of its choice.

This thing was and is understood by the Southern members of that Convention, precisely as it was by the Northern members. The South came off the substantial winner, although, for theatrical effect, it was thought best to shed a few tears over the departed "*twelfth section.*"

Mr. Zollicoffer, a member of this House, from Tennessee, was a member of that Convention, and he has told us here, exactly what the true scope of the new platform is. I will quote from his reported speech.

In the House, on the 3rd of April, 1856, [Appendix to Cong. Globe. 1st. session, 34th. Cong. page 355.]

Mr. Zollicoffer said:—

"My colleague makes the point against me, that the thirteenth section embraces a specification against the Administration, for "reopening sectional agitation" by a repeal of the Missouri Compromise." I will inform my colleague that I proposed to strike out that specification, and every specification in the thirteenth section; but there being much disorder at the time, I failed to succeed. * * * The question was subsequently about being put in the American council, shall the new platform be adopted in lieu of the old? when some member proposed a division of the question, which was agreed to, and the vote was first taken upon *striking out* the old platform, I voted *against* striking out, but the proposition carried. Then the question recurred upon the adoption of the *new* platform. I voted *for its adoption.* I did it just as I voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, with some minor objections, which I stated at the time. * * * But to make the most of that specification in the platform, it is but an expression of opinion as to a *bygone* ism, while the seventh section of the platform lays down a vital principle of action for the *present and the future*, covering the whole ground, and REASSERTING THE LEADING PRINCIPLE EMBODIED BOTH IN THE OLD TWELFTH SECTION AND IN THE NEBRASKA ACT"

Thus it is clear, that the American platform, for all substantial purposes, is identical with the Cincinnati platform.

To the same effect, another Fillmore member of this House, Hon. Charles Ready of Tennessee, in a recent letter to his constituents, says:—

It is true, Mr. Fillmore was opposed to the repeal of the Missouri restriction; and some, it may be many, of his supporters, were also opposed to it. Therein, there was a difference of opinion between us.

But all those things are past. We must now look to the future. Will there, in the future, be an issue between us? Is Mr. Fillmore now, and will he hereafter be, in favor of restoring the Missouri restriction? *He is known to be opposed to all agitation on the subject of slavery,* AND TO STAND BY THE EXISTING LAWS. Then, there is no practical issue between us upon this point, nor is there between him and Mr. Buchanan. He also holds to the right of the Territory to admission into the Union, with a Constitution prohibiting or establishing Slavery, as the people may therein provide. In this, we also agree with each other, and with Mr. Buchanan. Surely, then, I can support him without any inconsistency or change of political opinion."

MR. FILLMORE'S POSITION.

Mr. Fillmore *talks*, just as his platform *reads.* Following that lead, he condemns the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and he says that he was opposed to it *when it was done.* I believe this to

be an after thought. Not one word, not one line, was given to the public by Mr. Fillmore in 1854, against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He was then making a tour through the South, delivering speeches, and whining about the "Union," just as he is now. Not a lisp did he utter against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, until the cue was given him in this platform. Following the same cue, he avoids saying any thing *about restoring the Compromise.*

Not only does Mr. Fillmore thus adopt a platform, in no respect better than the one which is sinking Mr. Buchanan, beyond the reach of the plummet, but he himself superadds to it, nullification, disunion and treason. This is strong language, but it is borne out by the truth. Mr. Fillmore does not merely predict disunion, but he incites and approves it. He does not merely say that the South *will* dissolve the Union if Col. Fremont is elected, but that they *ought* to dissolve it, and would be doing no more than the North would do under similar circumstances.

At Albany, June 26th, Mr. Fillmore said :—

"We see a political party presenting candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, selected for the first time from the free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by sufferages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow, in case of success? [Cheers.] Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethern would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? [Cheers.] Suppose that the South having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slave-holders for President and Vice President; and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North—do you think we would submit to it? No, not for a moment. [Applause.] And do you believe that your Southern brethren are lees sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights?"

Certainly Mr. Fillmore advances rapidly. In 1848, an abolitionist, in 1850, a Union man, in 1856, a nullifier. What next?

WHO SUPPORT AND WILL CONTROL MR. FILLMORE?

By no possibility, can Mr. Fillmore get a Northern vote in the electoral colleges. In all probability, he can get none anywhere. If, however, the election is accidentally thrown into this House, not a solitary Northern State is in his favor, as represented here. In any wise, his whole strength is at the South. His party is there. The control of it lies there. The Northern Americans are mere bobs to a Southern kite, just as the Northern Democrats are. The only question between the Buchanan and Fillmore parties, is, which of two parties, both intensely and exclusively Southern, shall vault into power.

Now, I assert here, that the thirty Fillmore members of this House from the South, are even more rabidly and furiously pro-slavery, than the Democrats from the South are. They united in the attempt to make Gov. Aiken, with his 1500 slaves, speaker. They resisted, to a man, the investigation into the Kansas outrages, and to a man, they resist every measure of *redress*. To a man, they voted *against the restoration of the Missouri Compromise as provided in Mr. Dunn's bill.* To a man they voted to keep Gen. Whitfield, the bogus delegate from Kansas, in his seat. On every thing, bearing directly, or indirectly, upon slavery, they vote to a man. They did so, on the contested seat between Messrs. Allen and Archer of Illinois.

They threaten disunion if the Missouri restriction is restored. On the 20th of last December, [Appendix to Cong. Globe, page 30.] Mr. Cox of Kentucky said :—

"When you tell me that you intend to put a *restriction on the Territories*, I say to you that upon that subject the South is a unit, and WILL NOT SUBMIT TO ANY SUCH THING."

On the 19th of last December, [Appendix to Cong. Globe, page 56.] Mr. Campbell of Kentucky said :—

"It is an interference with our institutions when our citizens are denied the same rights in the new Territories with the citizens from the North; for that Territory belongs to us as much as it does to you. * * *

Whenever this Government makes a distinction between a Southern and Northern constituency or citizenship, then *we shall no longer consider ourselves bound to support the Confederacy*, but WILL RESORT TO THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION, which is recognized by all."

The following is one of the resolutions of the last American State Convention in Alabama:

"*Resolved*, That in view of the increased dan-
' gers that threaten the institutions of the South,
' this convention deems it necessary to, and does
' hereby, re-endorse and adopt the following reso-
' lution, known as the Georgia platform, to wit:
' That the State of Alabama, in the judgment of
' this convention, will and ought to resist, (as a
' last resort,) *to a disruption of every tie which binds*
' *her to the Union*, any action of Congress upon
' the subject of Slavery in the District of Colum-
' bia, or in places subject to the jurisdiction of
' Congress, incompatible with the safety, the do-
' mestic tranquillity, the rights and honor of the
' slaveholding States; or any act suppressing the
' slave trade between the slaveholding States; or
' any refusal to admit, as a State, any Territory
' applying, because of the existence of Slavery
' therein; *or any act prohibiting the introduction of*
' *slaves into the Territories;* or any act repealing,
' or materially modifying, the laws now in force,
' for the recovery of fugitive slaves."

It is useless to multiply quotations farther. The whole thing is stated with exactness and truth, in a letter addressed on the 2d inst. to citizens of New Jersey by a member of this House, Mr. Watkins of Tennessee, himself elected as an American to his seat here.

"Taking the record of this Congress in the various tests that have been applied, and the relative position and votes of the three parties, I am forced to the conclusion, by every principle of reason, policy, and philosophy, that the South Americans must and will ultimately unite with the democratic party, and those who claim to be Americans North with the republican party."

And again, in the same letter, Mr. Watkins says:

"The interests, sympathies, and legitimate and proper identity of the South Americans are with the national democratic party of the country."

Undoubtedly this is so, and to sincere men, holding sincere opinions upon the great question of slavery extension, it must be apparent, that as affecting the result, the election of Mr. Fillmore will be precisely the same as the election of Mr. Buchanan. They are both Southern candidates, having their strength at the South, and certain to be controlled by the South, if elected. I am aware, as I have said once before, that many persons at the North, honestly opposed to the extension of slavery, are still inclined to Mr. Fillmore, from a misapprehension of his true position. To such men I have particularly designed to address myself. Can they believe, upon a fair review of the whole case, that freedom has anything to hope from the success of Mr. Fillmore?

We are upon the eve, sir, of important political movements, and I intend to speak plainly. It is fast becoming apparent that Mr. Fillmore has no effective strength and can carry no single State. His friends still cling to Maryland as a forlorn hope, but they must soon abandon even that State. If Mr. Fillmore is not formally withdrawn, he will be substantially dropped. The bulk of his present supporters at the North will, in that event, rally under the broad banner of Fremont and Freedom. Not so, I fear, with Mr. Fillmore himself and his immediate advisers. It is my most deliberate judgment that they prefer Mr. Buchanan to Col. Fremont, and that they will keep Mr. Fillmore in the field, or withdraw him, just as may be thought best for the interests of the democratic party. In my opinion, there is not in all the Northern States a man more completely and irretrievably wedded to the South, by his sympathies on the one hand and his hatreds on the other, than Mr. Fillmore. Since 1850, he has been with the South and with the democratic party, and he will never return to the friends whom he has betrayed. They expect nothing from him but implacable hostility to the last.

But to the great body of his present supporters at the North, I appeal with confidence. Come over to your natural allies. Unite the North and thereby tranquilize the Union. In the presence of an united and irresistible North, the madness of Southern nullification would be arrested. Men of all parties of the South are rushing to the support of Mr. Buchanan, as the pledged representative of Southern sectional interests. Has freedom less power than slavery, to produce concert, and arouse sympathies?

The support of Mr. Fillmore at the South, at this moment, is a mere sham to keep alive a Fillmore party at the North, so as to defeat the election of Col. Fremont. Will the intelligent people of the North be longer deceived?

Mr. Fillmore has delivered many speeches since his return from Europe, but in not one of them has he expressed either sympathy for the down-trodden people of Kansas, or indignation against those who have oppressed them. He has proposed no measure of redress for their wrongs, and he has offered co-operation in no such measure. For the cause of liberty, so fearfully imperiled by the wants in Kansas, he has uttered no word of cheer, or counsel, or hope. He has been as silent and as cold as the grave, upon a theme which has stirred the freemen of this country, as they have not been stirred since the days of the Revolution. He has eyes and ears for nothing but the Presidency, and that to be reached by the support of the South.—He has no voice, and no heart, for the North which he has abandoned.

And for what cause, and on what pretence, is the North to be persuaded to divide its strength at this crisis? For an issue and a question, which, in all its political aspects, has been abandoned by his friends upon the floor of this House. A session of Congress of nearly nine months is near its termination, and no friend of Mr. Fillmore here has moved any change in the Naturalization laws, a change in which is the only substantial object proposed by the American organization. The thirty Southern friends of Mr. Fillmore have been active enough and zealous enough, whenever or wherever the interests of slavery have been concerned. Not one thought, or one moment, have they given to this pretended issue of Americanism, with which they hope to divide the North and secure to themselves the control of this continent forever. Is it possible that the intelligence of the free States will be deceived by pretences so flimsy?

Who has forgotten the declaration made on this floor, during the contest for the Speakership, by Hon. Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky, the bold and frank leader of Mr. Fillmore's thirty Southern members of this House? "*I will* FIRST *take care of the niggers, and then take care of the Irish and Dutch!*" This was the out-spoken declaration of Mr. Marshall. Slavery first, and Americanism afterwards; this is the motto and the practice of the South. Slavery swallows up everything else, and controls everything else.

And who is running for the Vice-Presidency on the same ticket with Mr. Fillmore? Mr. Donolson, of Tennessee, who, on the day of his nomination, boasted of his one hundred negroes, as the proof and guarantee of his fidelity to the "*institutions*" of the South! The ticket presented to us is not Fillmore alone, bad as that would be, but Fillmore *and* Donolson, "niggers" and all.

The Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, urging the claims of Mr. Fillmore upon the South, makes the following statement as to the sentiments which he expressed during his Southern tour of 1854:

"Having made the tour of the Southwestern Slave States, he announced on the steps of the State House door in Montgomery, that *the anti-Slavery prejudices of his early education had been obliterated by what he had seen in the South of the happy condition of the slave.*"

Of the fact that Mr. Fillmore's original opinions or "*anti-Slavery prejudices*" have been thoroughly "*obliterated*" there can be no question, but the *date* and *cause* of the obliteration are not correctly given in this extract. It was not the Southern tour of 1854, but the Washington intrigues of 1850, which did the work. It was not what Mr. Fillmore saw of "*the happy condition of the slaves*" at the South, but what he had seen of "*the happy condition*" of politicians at this seat of power, attaining fortune and prosperity by subserviency to the interests of slavery. It was this spectacle of what has been, but may not always continue, which "*obliterated*" every single free principle of Mr. Fillmore's youth and manhood.

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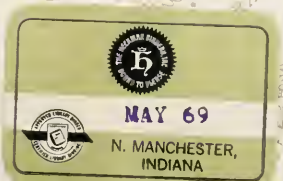
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